

H. HENDRIKSEN

A HIMACHALI TALE
WITH LINGUISTIC NOTES,
ESPECIALLY ON THE SENTENCE POSITION OF THE VERB

The following tale in Kotgarhi was narrated to me and recorded on tape in 1964. The narrator was Haṃs Raj Kaṃvar. His brother, Gopal Singh Raṭhor, was acting the part as an interested listener, interrupting with questions and exclamations of surprise, laughter etc. Only a few of these interruptions have been included in the beginning. Some episodes in the end of the tale have been left out.

The text has a linguistic interest, especially with respect to the sentence position of the verb. See the notes. The phonetic sign ' indicates a weak, generally missing, voiced aspiration. The two phonemically relevant tones are indicated by ' and ¯; here ' indicates a high falling tone while ¯ indicates a high level tone¹.

Text

Gopal Singh : 'ās raĵ:a (1.) kī: rōa tu: ɛb:a tēi?

Haṃs Raj : (2.) be:r pōṛi, ara, mere a:dz.

Gopal Singh : (3.) 'ām:ɛ tɛ n'ēḷi rōɛ nɛ. (4.) dze: dei tum:a lɛ.

Haṃs Raj : (4a.) dze: dei. āt:sha, (5.) tɛ mū: e:k kōt:ha dɛu, (6.)

šūṇeo.

1. With a few exceptions, the letters used are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet : see H. HENDRIKSEN, *Himachali Studies*. I. Vocabulary, Copenhagen, 1976, p. x-xi and III. Grammar, Copenhagen, 1986, p. 7 ff. (Phonology).

(7.) e:k tɔ na rad:ɔ. (8.) tɛ tē:ri raz'd'anti lag:ɛ tsa:r tso:r. (9.) sē na tē:re kēŋ'ie pākhrue ēnthi.

Gopal Singh : (10.) pē:ro neī tɔ?

Haṃs Raj : ā:, (11.) pē:ro 'ɔa tɔ šēi, (12.) sē neī tɛ lag:a tin:a pulsa aļe: 'āt:he. (13.) sārɔ šē:r ɛrɔ tɔ tin:ɛ luṭ:i. bas, (14.) ek:i bera kē 'ūɔ? (15.) tē:re šē:ra dɪ rɔatɔ e:k dɔrdzɪ. (16.) sɔ tɔ m'āŋthɔ, baunɔ dzɔ. (17.) sɔ tɔ lag:ɔ nɔ dzvɪkɛ sēundɔ. bas, (18.) roṭ:i tēu bətsaree tshāri ni caŋi. (19.) sɔ šūk:hi kē tɔ šāc:ɔ nɔ. (20.) ta tet:i āi e:k mōa betsn̄e aļi, (21.) tē: bol:ɔ bola (22.) "šē:d lē lo". (23.) tin:i bɪ bol:ɔ bola "e: mōa aļie, (24.) mul:ɛ bɪ dui pēseo mō: dɛ, (25.) mō: dɛ in:a roṭ:i gāe". (26.) tē: bɪ dui pēs:eo mō: paɔ tē:ri roṭ:i gāe. (27.) tin:i laɔ tin:a kaprɛ dɪ zo:r sēuŋeo. (28.) tet:a bil:ɛ neī ɔaɔ d'jā:n bɪ na (29.) ki "b'āi, mere jɔ mō: a lɛɔ nɔ." (30.) tet:a gāe bēš:ɛ b'ōri māk:he. (31.) dzeb:ɛ tē:re khjā:l āɔ bola (32.) "in:a roṭ:i ta khāu ɛb:ɛ", (33.) tɛ dēk:hɔ tin:i tēu mōa bil:ɛ; (34.) tet a jē j'umkē šāc:ɛ nē māk:he māk:he tet:a lē. (35.) tē:re āi rōš:ɛ. (36.) tin:i e:k tseŋtɔ marɔ tēu mōa gāe. bɔs, (37.) o:r māk:he rɛɛ na poru, (38.) pa:ndz muɛ tēt:hi.

Gopal Singh : uŋgo!

Haṃs Raj : (39.) sɛ ek:i tseŋtɛ dɪ bɛ, (40.) tɛ tin:i dzaŋɔ apn̄e dziua dɪ bola (41.) "ɛt, b'āi khāio, mū: bərabəri neī ēnthi dunia dɪ koi bɪ na (42.) dzvɪki ek:i tseŋtɛ sōŋge pa:ndz dz'āŋge". (43.) tin:i sɔ khāŋa lē khāɔ. (44.) teb:ɛ ki: e:k peṭ:i tja:r, (45.) tet lik:hɔ "pandz-'maru". bas, (46.) beļi ɔei go sɔ šē:ra dɪ g'umdo. (47.) dzv:ŋ bɪ tēu dēk:ha — (48.) et:i ōk:hɔ ta jɔ bōd:'ɔ nɔ a, (49.) tshō:tu bərabəri sōmdz'e bɛ bas, (50.) sɛ dēk:ha tēu bola (51.) "èrgo bɛ, b'āi khāio, (52.) jɔ sɔ 'pandz-'maru. (53.) dze ē: dɪ koi e:k tseŋtɔ la:, (54.) tɛ ē:ri 'ɔa ēb:'i khōri mūntshŋi". bas, (55.) lo:g 'ās:a, (56.) ta keia ɛn̄e bɪ 'ɔa māndz'i (57.) ki tē:ri š'i'kait dɪn:i rad:za kae kɔri (58.) ki "maara:dz, e:k thāre šē:ra dɪ dɔrdzɪ a m'āŋthɔ dzɔ, (59.) sɔ lik:ha apni gac:i dɪ 'pandz-'maru. (60.) tē: ka kilē neī b'edzɔ in:a tsou tsora dz'āŋge". (61.) tɛ radzɛ bol:ɔ ki (62.) "tēu bed:io aŋo mū: ka: lē". (63.) niɔ sɔ bed:io radza ka: lē. (64.) radzɛ bol:ɔ (65.) "tu: pandz-maru la?" (66.) bola "ā:". bola (67.) "dze tu: tin:a tsou tsora dz'āngo (68.) tɛ tal:ɛ mū: b'ōri pēs:ɛ dem:u (69.) dzv:ŋ tu: mango". (70.) tin:i bol:ɔ "āt:shɔ, maara:dz".

(71.) tid:a go na āi g'ōrɛ. (72.) g'ōrkɛ tɪ tē:ri tshēuŋi (73.) ta tē: bol:ɔ bola (74.) "kɛŋɔ bol:ɔ radzɛ?" "la", bola, (75.) "radzɛ kē bol:ɔ. (76.) et gɪ phāi šāc:i. (77.) tin:i bol:ɔ bola (78.) "tsa:r tso:r dze dz'āngo tu:, (79.) teb:ɛ dɛu tal:ɛ b'ōri pēs:ɛ na:m". (80.) ɛb:ɛ sɛ kɛŋkɛ lai

(162.) tē:re gaŋi nɪ dzīb:'. (163.) 'ùɔ tēu mē:la kae khōŋ (164.) dzeb:ε sɔ tī: dunie dēk:hɔ bola "b'ài khāio, (165.) dz'àngnō tē rɔa kid:i, (166.) in:ɪ aŋɔ dziundie jɔ dziundie pakŋio", (166a.) rad:za lē dɪn:ɪ khōb:ər. (167.) rad:zɔ bɪ āɔ dēkhɔ (168.) tē sɔ bɪ 'ùɔ šerwiŋgi. (169.) tɪn:ɪ bol:ɔ "b'ài khāio, (170.) jɔ a bɔŋ b'ari jōd:ɔ; (171.) ās:a eti ōk:hɔ; (172.) in:ɪ aŋɔ sɔ brāg: bɪ dziundie pakŋio kan:a ka. āt:sha b'ài, (173.) et:ε deo šāngli". (174.) phēŋki tēu ka: lē sē šāngli, (175.) tɪn:ɪ tē:re goŋe dɪ sē šāngli pai. bɔs, (176.) bān:ɔ sɔ šāngli dɪ sɔ brāg: dziundie.

(177.) tēb:ε deuo sɔ rad:zε ka: lē bola "maara:z, (178.) εb:ε mere na:m tsēi". bola "āt:sha, (179.) tu: bɔŋ b'ari b'ad:ər a. (180.) dzv:ŋ jɔ mere sāmne tɪb:ɔ a utšɔ, (181.) tī: rɔa e:k rākš, (182.) sɔ bɪ khā: meri rēəta. (183.) dze tēu dz'āngo, (184.) tē deu tal:ε mū-maŋgo na:m (185.) dzetɔ tu: maŋgo." bola "āt:sho".

(186.) āɔ sɔ g'əre. (187.) tē:ri tshēuŋie bol:ɔ bola (188.) "a:dz tē dɪn:ɔ kuts khāŋa lē piŋa lē na:m?" "la", bola, (189.) "kīuɔ na:m? (190.) eŋɔ bol:ɔ bola (191.) "e:k utšɔ tɪb:ɔ a sāmne. (192.) tī:, bola, e:k rākš rɔa, (193.) sɔ a dz'àngnō". (194.) sɔ keŋke lai dz'āngi? » (195.) sē pɔŋe sēəpe dɪ. (196.) tēu rad:zε, tē:re bād:ε ka:m kərai tē tē: ka, sɔ sɔ sɔ kəmaī. (197.) tē tē: bol:ɔ bola (198.) "koi gol neī it:hi. (199.) dot:i tu: eŋɔ kore. (200.) kōs:ie mūē neī lagŋō n'ère n'ère dɪ. (201.) dzv:ŋ peŋde dɪ tā: ka mɪl:ɔ (202.) sɔ guj:ε dɪ paŋɔ, (203.) dzɔ: bɪ koi tsi:z mɪl:ɪ". bola "āt:sho".

(204.) dot:i go sɔ 'ūd:z'ui koi ci: ek:i bad:zε dɪ, (205.) nīkhɔ be apŋe ka bā:re. (206.) dzeb:ε sɔ tēu šē:ra dɪ deuo poru (207.) tē gāš:a khīŋki ka kuŋi šōŋɔ nɔ māk:həŋ phēŋko sōŋki lē 'undi. (208.) sə pɔŋ tē:re mūa ka: lē thōts. (209.) tɪn:ɪ tsuŋgo sɔ, (210.) paɔ guj:ε dɪ. (211.) tid:a deuo sɔ tēb:ε gōw'. (212.) deunda deunda tēb:ε gi be ra:c khūl:ɪ. (213.) ag:ε dēk:hɔ, (214.) e:k tɔ dz'āl. (215.) tet:i e:k ciuŋkhi phōš:ɪ nɪ tɪ ŋaŋa ka. (216.) tē: ŋeia neī tɔ inthi. (217.) tɪn:ɪ sɔ ciuŋkhi pakŋi; (218.) sɔ pai guj:ε dɪ. (219.) lag:ɔ deundo. (220.) deui go tēu tɪb:ε gāe gāš (221.) dzī: sɔ rākš tɔ sūt:ɔ nɔ. (222.) tēb:ε go sɔ rākš 'ūd:z'ui. (223.) tē: ka bās āi na māŋchi. (224.) tē go sɔ 'ūd:z'ui. (225.) sɔ dīš:ɔ tēu ka səŋv:ŋ dzɔ, bɪkul m'āŋthɔ. (226.) bas, sɔ rākš tē: lē 'ās:ɔ. (227.) tē sɔ bɪ 'ās:ɔ. (228.) rākšē bol:ɔ bola (229.) "tu: kil:ε 'ās:ɔ?" (230.) tē sɔ bol:a (231.) "tu: kil:ε 'ās:ɔ?" (232.) tē rākšē bol:ɔ (233.) "mū: 'ās:ɔ eŋɔ (234.) ki tu: āp:hi āɔ ī: ŋaŋe 'āŋdio. (235.) mere zadɔ kōšt neī go kornō". (236.) ta tɪn:ɪ dɔrdziε bol:ɔ bola "dēk:h, (237.) mul:ε bɪ e:k sūt:ɔ nɔ mɪl:ɔ; (238.) a:dz 'vimerē mō:z."

(239.) tɪn:ɪ rākʃe bol:ɔ bola “āt:ʃhɔ, (240.) tu: bɪ ɛɳɔ ʃogtɔ a?” bola “te”, (241.) sɔ bɪ ɔŋkrɔ, sɔ dɔrdzɪ. (242.) bɔs, tɪn:ɪ ke ka:m kɪɔ, tɪn:ɪ rākʃe? (243.) tsuŋg e:k etrɔ pāt:hər, (244.) ʃal be sɔ mənʃhɪl:ɪ, (245.) tet:a ka nɪkhɔ paɳɪ. (246.) tɪn:ɪ bol:ɔ (247.) “mū: bɪ gaɽu”. (247a.) tɪn:ɪ ʃhɔg:ɔ sɔ — (248.) b’òlɛ ‘ɔa ʃe rākʃ — (249.) sɔ pɔɽɔ ɛɳɪ tēu pāthra tsuŋgdɔ. (250.) tɪn:ɪ paɔ tēu guʃ:ɛ dɪ ‘āt:h tēu mākhnə le. (251.) ʃal sɔ māk:həɳ pətsintsəri tɪn:ɪ, (252.) tet:a ka ge dui cɔ:n ʃɪp:ɛ paɳɪe nɪkhɪ. (253.) te sɔ rākʃ gɔ kambɪ, bola “b’ài khāio, (254.) ʃɔ bɪ ās:a ke”. (255.) tɪn:ɪ tɔɪ rōʃ:a gāe tsuŋgɔ e:k etrɔ ɖ’òlʃɔ, tɔɪ bɔɖ:ɔ. (256.) sɔ ɛɳɔ phēnkɔ, (257.) tet:ɔ ni lag:ɔ pɔt:ɔ bɪ neɪ (258.) sɔ kēc:hɛ deɔ, bol:a (259.) “tu: bɪ phēnk. (260.) mɛɽɔ duʃ:ɔ im’ta:n a”. bās, (261.) tɪn:ɪ ɛɳɔ kɪɔ be, (262.) tē: le ɛɳɔ dzaɳɪ (263.) dze ɖ’òlʃɔ laɔ nɔ in:ɪ tsuŋgɳɔ. (264.) ‘əri paɔ tē: ciuŋkhi le ‘āt:h guʃ:ɛ dɪ. (265.) de tshāɾɪ sɔ ciuŋkhi poru. (266.) tēe kəraui phūr̥k. (267.) tēs:i tēɔ bɪ neɪ pɔɽɔ pɔt:ɔ. (268.) teb:i gɔ sɔ rākʃ kambɪ. (269.) tɪn:ɪ ɛɽɔ dzaɳɪ (270.) “in:ɪ neɪ tʃēɪ mɛɽɔ im’ta:n lɛɔ, (271.) ʃɔ a zɔbər kuts”. bol:ɔ bola “tsal, (272.) ek:i duʃ:ɛ ʃɪb:ɛ gāe mɛɽɔ e:k sāt:hi rōa. (273.) tid:a le ɖe:me”.

(274.) lag:ɛ dun:i dzɔɳɛ ɖeunde, agdɪ sɔ rākʃ, pāt:shi sɔ dɔrdzɪ. (275.) sē ge tēu sāt:hi ka puʃ:ɪ. (276.) teb:ɛ dun:i rākʃe bol:ɔ bola (277.) “eb:ɛ m’are sūtnō”. (278.) te sē lag:ɛ sūtde. (279.) tɪn:ɪ dɔrdzie ke ka:m kɪɔ? (280.) guʃ:ɛ dɪ m’āɳʃhi m’āɳʃhi śākʃɪ b’òri; (281.) ūkhɔ ek:i ɖala dɪ ‘ūb:ɪ tsoria. (282.) gāʃ:a e:k śākʃɪ lai ek:i rākʃa gāe. (283.) sɔ bol:a (284.) “sūtnɛ de. (285.) tē: kil:ɛ śākʃɪ lai mundi?” (286.) teb:ɛ lai tēu duʃ:ɛ rākʃa gāe. (287.) sɔ bol:a (288.) “tu: khōa mɛɪ ɳɪ:ɳʃ”. (289.) ɛɳɪ ɛɳke śākʃɪ landa landa ge se ʃ’ēɫ:hui ap:u maē. (290.) te tɪ: ti khəɾari ɖai ni (291.) tsuŋg dun:i rākʃe sē khəɾari, (292.) ʃal ek:i duʃ:a dɪ tɪn:ɛ khəɾarie gəsraɭɪ, bās, (293.) muɛ dun:i. (294.) teb:ɛ āɔ sɔ dɔrdzɪ rad:ze ka: le. (295.) rad:zɔ bɔɽɔ b’ari khūʃ:i ‘ùɔ. (296.) tē: le khē:c bɪ dɪn:ɛ, ru’peie bɪ dɪn:ɛ, dzvɔɽke bɪ dɪn:ɛ, (297.) dzv:ɳ bɪ tɪn:ɪ maŋgɔ. (298.) sɔ āɔ bətsarɔ g’òrɛ.

bɔs, (299.) ʃi: kōt:ha gɪ khōt:əm ‘ùɪ. (300.) te deɳɛ aɭɔ tɔ ‘āʃ ra:ʃ. (301.) ās:a sɔ mɛɭneo rō:ɳɛ aɭɔ. (302.) te e:k tɔ tē:ɽɔ b’ài gopa:l sɪŋg. (303.) sɔ bɪ a tid:ɔ mɛɭneo.

(304.) sɔ kōt:ha ɖeɪ poru; (305.) mū: āɔ oru.

THE VALIANT TAILOR

Gopal Singh : Hams Raj! Where have you been so long?

Hams Raj : Dear friend! I was delayed to-day.

Gopal Singh : We have been waiting for you. Salute! (lit. we give you salute).

Hams Raj : Salute! All right, (5.) then I will tell a story. Listen!

There was a king. In his capital there were four thieves. He could not by any means catch them.

Gopal Singh : (10.) Was there no watchman?

Hams Raj : Yes, there was a watchman all right. But the thieves did not get into the hands of the policemen. The whole town had been plundered by them. Well! Once, what happened? (15.) In his town there lived a tailor. He was small, dwarfish. He was busy sewing some clothes. He had prepared, poor chap, some loaves. But he was in a fix, eating dry food (lit. he had got stuck to dry food). (20.) Now a woman selling honey came there; she said, "Honey for sale". He said, "Hey honey seller! Give me for two pice honey! (25.) Put it on these loaves". He started (anew) sewing the clothes with all his might and did not realize that he had bought some honey. (30.) A lot of flies sat down on it. When it occurred to him to eat the loaves then he saw in the direction of the honey and there these swarms of flies were sticking to it. (35.) He got angry and struck a slap on that honey. Well, five flies died there, the rest flew away.

Gopal Singh : Dear me!

Hams Raj : Yes, with one slap! (40.) And he thought in his mind, "Here indeed there is nobody equal to me in the world who has killed five with one slap." He ate his meal and then he made a belt (45.) and wrote on it "Five-killer". Then in the evening he went and had a stroll in the town. Everybody who sees him — he had grown so small (that) one should think he was equal to a boy — (50.) well, they see him and think, "Indeed, look! This here "Five-killer"! If somebody gives him a slap then he will immediately tumble down (lit. there will right now be his vertical tumbling down)". Well, (55.) people laugh, and there were some among who calumniated him to the king saying, "Your

majesty. There is a small tailor in Your town. He has written "Five-killer" on his belt. (60.) Why don't You let him kill these four thieves?". The king said, "Call and bring him to me!" They did so. The king said, (65.) "Are you the five-killer?" He said, "Yes" "If you kill the four thieves I will give you as much money as you demand". (70.) He said, "Good, Your majesty"

He came home from the palace. At home his wife asked, (75.) "What did the king say?" "Well, what did the king say! Here I am in a fix (lit. a noose has attached itself). He said, "If you kill the four thieves I will reward you with a lot of money". (80.) Now how should they be killed?" She said, "That is your business (lit. know you it!). You should not have consented at first". "Well, woman", he said, (85.) "Do like this. I go somewhere and arrange something. We must get away from here tomorrow morning. You should prepare some *kacoru*-wafers and put salt on them". (90.) And he had collected some poison for killing mice. And what happened in the darkness? His wife ground this poison instead of the salt. It so happened by mistake, with no evil design. It was put into the flour. (95.) They had themselves already eaten and drunk. Well, the *kacoru*-wafers were made, four baskets. He said, "When we awake tomorrow morning we must take four baskets (with us) from here; on the way we will have a meal". (100.) At midnight they lay down to sleep, the two people.

At that moment the four thieves came to the tailor's house. What was (to be found) in that poor man's house? He was a tailor! (105.) The thieves said, "In this man's house, worse luck, there is nothing at all to be found". They searched the place everywhere (lit. there was searched everywhere) and caught hold of these four baskets with *kacoru*-wafers. They sat down each with a basket and (110.) began to eat. As they ate one *kacoru*-each their legs stretched out there on the spot. Early in the morning as the two people got up they find (115.) the four thieves dead there. They dragged them out (from their hiding place).

He let the king know, "I have killed the four thieves". And he went to ask for the reward. (120.) The king said, "This was an act of courage that you did. In this town I have also a man-eating leopardess. If you kill her I give you whatever reward you demand". He said, "Well, sir"

(125.) From there he came home. There his wife asked, "Didn't

he give any reward". "Tell! Reward for what? He said like this, (130.) "The man-eating leopardess is to be killed. Then I give you a big reward". Tell!, how should she be killed? Now we have to get away from here. Therefore you do like this. (135.) All the best clothes we have, tie them together. And I go to find some mules".

Outside it was dark night. (140.) He went out in order to find mules. That luggage was to be put on the mules. He went out on the verandah and that damned man-eating leopardess was beneath. He thought (!45.) it was a mule and straight away (lit. he saw neither here nor there) he seized her by the ears and there on the spot he sat down on her. The leopardess began to run and (150.) he did not let the ears go. Where he directed her there she went. From running all night the leopard lost his breath. He did not for a moment get off from him because (155.) he feared that if he descended he would be flayed by him. Well, when by the grace of God the sun rose in the morning (160.) that leopard was exhausted. He came to the palace with his tongue hanging out, and then he stood still near the palace. When he was seen there by people who thought, "Good gracious, (165.) so far from killing him (lit. Where remains after all (*te* emphatic) killing?) he has caught this leopard alive and brought him here alive", they give the king information. The king also came in order to see and also he was amazed. He said, (170.) "He is indeed a very great hero; he is so small and (still) he has brought that leopard alive after seizing him by the ears. Well friends! Put the chains on him". They threw the chains to him and (175.) he put them on his neck. Well, that leopard was tied in the chains alive.

Then he went up to the king saying, "Your majesty, now I must have the reward". He said, "Good, you are a very brave man. (180.) You see the high hill in front of me, there lives an ogre; he eats my subjects. If you kill him then I give you as big a reward (185.) as you demand ».

He said, "Good" and went home. His wife asked, "To-day at last (*te* emphatic), did he give a proper reward (lit. a reward for eating and drinking)?" "Tell!", he said, "reward for what?" (190.) He said, "You see a high hill in front. There lives an ogre; he must be killed". How should he be killed?" (195.) They had fallen into trouble. That king would have all (possible) works done by him, that and that and that task. But she said, "That is no problem. Tomorrow morning do

So they began to walk the two of them, in front the ogre, after came the tailor. (275.) They came up to that comrade. There the two ogres said, "Now we want to sleep", and lay down to sleep. What did the tailor do? (280.) He put a lot of small pebbles in his pockets and climbed up stealthily in a tree. He let a pebble fall on one of the ogres. He said, "Let me sleep. (285.) Why did you let a pebble fall on me?" Then he let one fall on the other ogre who said, "You disturb me in my sleep." While he in this way was throwing one pebble after the other down, the ogres got into a quarrel. (290.) And there were some axes lying there. The two ogres took these axes and began to brandish them against each other. Well, (at last) they died. Then the tailor went to the king's residence. (295.) The king became very happy and gave him fields, money, clothes, everything he demanded. And then he, poor chap, came home.

Well, here the tale has come to an end. (300.) And the one telling it was Hams Raj. He is inhabitant in (the village) Melan. And a brother of his, Gopal Singh, was there. Also he hails from Melan.

The tale has gone away; (305.) I have come here.

Linguistic Notes².

The position of the sentence verb.

In main sentences the sentence verb stands in the second position, more rarely in a later position, but on principle not in the final position. In subordinate sentences it stands in the final position. As is well-known, similar rules exist in German.

Since there is some uncertainty regarding word order in sentences containing : 1. questions, 2. imperatives, 3. sentences introduced with the conjunction *ki* "that", such sentences have not been considered in the following examination. That is also the case with sentences containing *bol:ɔ*, *bol:a* "said, say(s)"; and the following eight sentences : (114.) *dēk:ha* "they see", (55.) *lo:g ās:a* "people laugh", (107.) *sāre di lōr'ui* "there was searched everywhere", (149.) *sā b'it:i b'ag:i* "that leopard ran", (213.) *ag:ε dēk:hɔ* "farther on he saw".

2. Grammar = H. HENDRIKSEN, *Himachali Studies*, III. Copenhagen, 1986.

like this : (200.) Do not appear to anybody's sight as long as it is dark. What you find on the road you should put in your pocket, whatever you find". He said, "Good".

The next morning he got up about three and (205.) went out from his home. As he walked along in the town somebody threw some decomposed butter from a window down on the road ; that fell, plop, on his face. He took it up and (210.) put it in his pocket. He went on from there. As he walked on the night cleared up. Farther on he saw, there was a shrub and (215.) a bird was entangled in it by the legs. It could not fly. He seized that bird and put it in his pocket. (220.) He went along, up on the hill where that ogre was asleep. Then the ogre woke up and felt the smell of a human being. He rose and (225.) caught sight of the tailor, tiny like a fly. The ogre laughed at him and also the tailor laughed. The ogre asked him why he laughed and (230.) he asked the same question. The ogre said, "I laughed because you came walking here on your own legs ; (235.) I need not trouble myself any more". The tailor said, "Look ! I found some one sleeping here. To-day it has become easy for me".

(240.) The ogre said, "Good. Are you *so* capable?" He said, "Yes"! and stretched himself up, that tailor. Well. What did the ogre then do? He suddenly lifted such a big stone and (245.) pressed it with the clenched fist so violently that water came out from it. The tailor said, "I will also pull out (some water)". He cheated him — dull are these ogres — and started in the same way to lift that stone and (250.) put (at the same time) his hand in his pocket for that butter. He squeezed the butter so violently that two-three drops of water came out from it. The ogre began to tremble thinking, "This fellow is indeed something!" (255.) Again he in rage lifted such a stone, even bigger, and threw it in such a way that one could not see where it went (lit. there came no trace of it where it went). He said, "Throw you also! (260.) That is my second test". The tailor did in such a way that it occurred to the ogre that he was lifting a stone. At the same time he put his hand in the pocket for that bird and (265.) suddenly he let the bird go. It let the sound *phurk* be heard (lit. be produced). There no sign was seen of that bird either. The ogre began to tremble; it occurred to him, (270.) "He must not put me to a test; he is very strong". He said, "Come on, on the other hill a friend of mine stays; let us go there".

(241.) *s̄ b̄ ɔ̄nkɔ̄* "he also stretched himself up", (247.) *m̄: b̄ garu* "also I will pull out (some water)" (260.) *merɔ̄ dū:ɔ̄ im'ta:n a* "it is my second test". The first of these eight sentences only contains the sentence verb. The seven following contain two sentence members, the last being the sentence verb. The word order is ambiguous. It agrees with the rule since the verb is in the second position, but it goes against the rule, the verb being final. That is why also the sentences with *bol:ɔ̄ bol:a* have been left unconsidered because the vast majority only contain two members. The few sentences having *bol:ɔ̄, bol:a* with more than two members have probably the final position of the sentence verb through influence of the two-member sentences.

In the following treatment we are only concerned with the position of the sentence verb. In an article "Sentence position of the verb in Himachali" to be published elsewhere other aspects of the problem will also be treated, thus the two kinds of verbs, single and composite verbs, and the position of the infinite verb forms belonging to the latter kind.

If all the above-mentioned invalid sentences are left out, 218 remain, 194 valid main sentences and 24 subordinate sentences. I do not find there is any reason to exclude any of the latter as invalid.

In determining position the following words are not counted as position-forming : *ɔ̄r* (proclitic) "and"; *pɔ̄r* (proclitic) "but"; *tɛ, ta* (when sentence-interior) "then, and" or emphasizing (proclitic when meaning "then, and", enclitic when emphasizing); Kotgarhi *bɛ, Koci ba* (enclitic) "then, now, just"; *i, i* (enclitic) emphasizing; *na, ne, nɔ, no, nu* (enclitic) emphasizing; *bʻ, b̄* (enclitic) "also, even"; postpositions; negations. Sentence-initial *tɛ, ta* "then, thereupon, and" are position-forming.

Out of the 194 valid main sentences 98 have the sentence verb in the second position : 2, 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 44, 45, 50, 59, 71, 72, 76, 79, 83, 86, 92, 93, 94, 95, 99, 108, 109, 112, 115, 116, 117, 121, 124, 125, 130, 131, 140, 145, 148, 155, 161, 166, 166a, 167, 170, 172, 177, 181, 182, 184, 191, 193, 195, 200, 204, 208, 209, 211, 214, 216, 218, 222, 224, 225, 233, 238, 245, 247a, 248, 249, 250, 252, 254, 257, 264, 266, 268, 269, 270, 271, 275, 286, 288, 294, 298, 303, 304, 305.

31 main sentences have the verb in the third position : 8, 19, 20, 26, 36, 40, 46, 54, 87, 90, 100, 118, 133, 137, 139, 141, 143, 154, 160,

168, 212, 223, 235, 253, 267, 278, 282, 290, 299, 300, 302. Half of the sentences begin with *te* or *ta*.

8 main sentences have the verb in the fourth position or later : 9, 56, 122, 196, 207, 215, 255, 289.

No rules regulating the different verb positions seem to exist.

Sentences where one or several syntactically essential words, especially subject, actor or object, follow the sentence verb are particularly valuable. If that is not the case, the word or words following the verb may in some cases be understood to be additions which would mean that the sentence verb may in a certain sense be said to be in the final position.

In 22 main sentences the sentence verb is in the initial position : 63, 96, 110, 119, 163, 171, 174, 176, 186, 205, 210, 219, 243, 244, 251, 265, 274, 281, 291, 292, 293, 301. Regarding such sentences see below.

There is however considerable liberty with regard to word order in Kotgarhi and Koci as the case is in the other Indo-Aryan languages. That means that it is possible to deviate from the rules of verb position, also.

Thus in 35 main sentences the sentence verb appears in the final position : 5, 43, 48, 49, 68, 98, 104, 126, 142, 144, 146, 147, 150, 152, 153, 157, 159, 175, 178, 179, 192, 202, 217, 226, 227, 237, 256, 260, 261, 262, 272, 277, 280, 295, 296. It seems impossible to give any rules for the appearance of this deviation. The 35 deviating sentences make out between $\frac{1}{6}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$ of the total number of 194 valid main sentences.

There is a total of 24 subordinate sentences in the text : 31, 42, 47, 53, 67, 69, 78, 97, 111, 113, 123, 135, 151, 156, 164, 180, 183, 185, 201, 203, 206, 221, 263, 297. Out of them 6 deviate in not having a final sentence verb : 78, 123, 135, 206, 221, 263. This seems to occur with special frequency in conditional sentences, thus (78.) *tsa:r tso:r dze dz'ango tu*: "if you kill the four thieves". But on the whole it does not seem possible to find out the causes of this deviation.

Also the conditions for the initial verb position in main sentences are difficult to determine. It is possible one ought to distinguish between such instances where, as often occurs, the subject or the actor has been left out and such where no syntactically essential sentence member is missing, only the latter instances being regarded as genuine. An instance of the first kind is seen in sentence (110.) : (109.) *sē hēs:ē ek:i ek:i fokree kae tsari dzəŋe*, (110.) *lag:ē khānde* "they sat down the

four men each at his basket and began to eat". Here the subject of the first sentence can also be understood as subject of the second. But even where such a functional extension is excluded one may doubt the validity of such sentences. Cases with unexpressed subject or actor are so common in all kinds of sentences that one may hold that the missing member is "tacitly" present as the first member in the sentence. However that may be, the initial position seems in a number of instances to indicate a narrow connexion with what precedes. E.g. the ogre says (273.) *tid:a lə də:mə* "let us go there" and the text continues (274.) *lag:ε dun:i dzəŋe dəunde* "so they began to walk the two of them".

The initial position may have another function. In certain cases it has expressive force, thus together with the mood which I suggest calling expressive (see *Grammar* p. 173); in the present text in the sentences 243, 244, 251, 291, 292, e.g. (243-244.) *tsuŋg e:k etrə pāt:həɾ, ʈal bə sɔ məŋhīl:ɪ* "up he took such a big stone and pressed it violently with the clenched fist".

Still another function of quite a different nature is seen in the sentence (301.) *ās:a sɔ məŋneo rɔ:ŋe aʈə* "he is inhabitant of (the village) Melan".

Other notes.

(18.) *tēu bətsareε*. Agent (actor) in the relational due to the static participle *tshāri ni*. *Grammar* p. 106 l.15.

(18.) *tshāri ni caŋi*. *tshārñō* with the gerund has here the same function as Hindi *rakhnā* with the gerund. See R. S. MCGREGOR, *Outline of Hindi Grammar*, 1977, Delhi, p. 104, point 12: "it underlines the fact that the action results in the achievement of a state of some duration".

(35.) *tē:re āi rōš:ε*, lit. "it came for him with anger". Impersonal pret. in -i with instr. from *rōš* m. "anger". *Grammar* p. 162 l. 18 foll. on pret. in -i.

(37.) *o:r māk:he... pa:ndz...* This typical Indian or rather "oriental" expression cannot be rendered directly in our languages. We can only say "the other" after mentioning what is opposed to it.

(40.) *bola*. Unstressed; also *bəla*. Introduces direct speech. One

may think of the old function of the *-a* as ending of pres. partic. But perhaps rather pres. ind., first used in passages with a lively dialogue as an indicator of alternating direct speeches.

(43.) *tin:ɪ sɔ̃ khāṇa lɛ khāɔ* "he ate that meal". *khāṇa lɛ*, lit. "for eating" has become equivalent to *khā:n* "food, meal" from expressions like *khāṇa lɛ deṇō* "to give to eat", *khāṇa lɛ aṇṇō* "to bring food". That explains why *sɔ̃* has been used. Or is the literal meaning "he ate that for eating"?

(60.) *tē: ka kil:ɛ nēɪ b'ēdzde in:a tsɔu tsora dz'àngṇe*. See *Grammar* p. 181, point 6 : the periphrastic causative consists i.a. of *b'ēdzṇō* with the infinitive. The agent of the infinitive has the postposition (or with certain pronouns : case ending) *ka* (*Grammar* p. 182 l. 6 foll.) and the infinitive is in the obl. sg. m. The unexpressed subject is *tum:ɛ* "You".

(80.) *sē kɛṇkɛ lai dz'àngɪ. lai* is injunctive, *Grammar* p. 171 foll. The combination of *laṇō* with the gerund has not been mentioned in the *Grammar*. Both *laṇō* and *laṇṇō* (of which *laṇō* is the transitive counterpart) can be used with the gerund (see Vocabulary *laṇṇō*). Both verbs express a commencement of what is expressed by the gerund.

(96.) *ap:u gɛ tɛ mvk:ɪ khāi-pio*. The gerund dependent on *mukṇō* is either the short or, as here, the long gerund. The word order is free (as often with composite verbs). According to the rules it should be : *ap:u gɛ tɛ khāi-pio mvk:ɪ*.

(137.) *mū: deṇ khātsəri lorɪ*. Also (140.). A form in *-i* may be used in the same function as the pres. partic. indicating intention. Its genesis is obscure. It has not been mentioned in *Grammar*.

(196.) *tēu rad:zɛ, tē:rɛ bād:ɛ ka:m kərai tɛ tē: ka. kərai tɛ* is injunctive in the imperfect (the imperfect expressed by *tɛ*) of the causative. The injunctive is an involitive form. The subject *bād:ɛ ka:m* "all (possible) works" is the patient. The agent of the causation is in the relational : *tēu rad:zɛ* (resumed by *tē:rɛ*); that is due to the injunctive (*Grammar* p. 171, point a). The agent of the verb "to do" which is inherent in the causative *kəraṇṇō* is indicated by the postposition *ka: tē: ka* "by him, through him". *Grammar* p. 156.

(248.) *b'òlɛ ʒa jɛ rākš̌*. *ʒa* is used about general facts like Hindi *hotā hai* while *a, ās:a* are used about individual cases.

(262.) *tē: lɛ ɛṇɔ dzəṇi* "such a thing occurs to him". Injunctive expressing the pres. ind. *Grammar* p. 171.

(263.) *d'òlɔ laɔ nɔ in:ɪ tsuṅṇō*. For the static partic. of *laṇō* with

the infinitive expressing a continuous pres., see *Grammar* p. 181, point 4. It is remarkable here that instr. *in:i* has been used instead of the relational which is usual with the static partic.

(270.) *in:i neĩ tsēĩ merɔ im'ta:n leɔ. tsēĩ* can have both the inf. and the pret. partic., *Grammar* p. 180, point 2. In the last instance the agent is in the instr. (due to the pret. partic.), in the first in the relational (due to the inf.).